

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 0166

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

DEPT PLS PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY IMMEDIATE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJ: NAMIBIA: SCENAIRO FOR FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL TALKS

1. WESTERN FIVE CONTACT GROUP HELD SIX-HOUR MEETING
JANUARY 18 WITH FOREIGN OFFICE REPRESENTATIVES IN ATTENDANCE.
THOSE REPRESENTATIVES FROM CAPITALS INCLUDED: US: DEPUTY
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ASSISTANT SECRETARIES BILL EDMONDSON AND GERRY HELMAN;
UK: ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY PHILIP MANSFIELD; FRG:
AMBASSADOR HELMUT MUELLER, HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN
AFFAIRS; FRANCE: AMBASSADOR ALBERT THABAULT. (OTTAWA
WAS UNABLE TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE.)

2. THE DISCUSSION CENTERED PRIMARILY ON NEXT STEPS FOR

THE WESTERN FIVE INITIATIVE AND FOCUSED ON A BRITISH PROPOSAL, MADE EARLY IN THE MEETING THAT THE RIVE CONSIDER MAKING A DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: (A) TO EXPRESS OUR HOPE THAT HE WILL BE ABLE TO ATTEND TALKS IN NEW YORK IN FEBRUARY; (B) TO ADVISE HIM THAT, IF HE AGREES TO ATTEND, THE TALKS WOULD BE HELD AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S LEVEL; AND (C) TO ADVISE HIM THAT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD BE CONDITIONAL UPON SOUTH AFRICA'S REFRAINING FROM TAKING ANY UNILATERAL MEASURES, ESPECIALLY THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN ELECTION DATE FOR NAMIBIA, WHICH WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. THE NOTION BEHIND THIS PROPOSAL IS THAT THE OFFER TO BOTHA OF AN OPPORTUNITY TO STATE HIS CASE TO THE WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS IS THE BEST AVAILABLE INCENTIVE TO FORESTALL THE ELECTION DATE ANNOUNCEMENT. IN ADDITION, THE PRESENCE OF WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD CREATE THE MOST CONDUCIVE ATMOSPHERE FOR PRODUCTIVE PROXIMITY TALKS. US EXPRESSED OUR STRONG INTEREST IN THE PROPOSAL. (ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE HAD PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED MATTER WITH BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN.) FRG THEN VIGOROUSLY ENDORSED CONCEPT SAYING THAT PROPOSED APPROACH WOULD UNDERLINE THE SERIOUSNESS WHICH THE FIVE ATTACH TO THE TALKS. THE CONTACT GROUP ON THE WHOLE REACTED QUICKLY AND FAVORABLY TO THE OVERALL CONCEPT, AGREED TO REFER IT TO CAPITALS, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND BEGAN DISCUSSING THE MANY ISSUES AND DETAILS RELATED TO IT. IN THIS REGARD, THE GROUP AGREED TO THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSED SCENARIO AD REFERENDUM TO CAPITALS: (A) GROUP AGREED THAT, IF TALKS WITH BOTHA WERE TO BE HELD AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL, THEN TALKS WITH SWAPO WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE HELD AT THAT LEVEL. (B) ARRANGEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE FOR MEETINGS WITH OTHER NAMIBIAN GROUPS PRESENT IN NEW YORK AT TIME OF TALKS. BRITISH SUGGESTED THAT THE RIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD ARRANGE FOR BRIEF MEETINGS WITH SUCH GROUPS. US SUGGESTED AND OTHERS AGREED THAT MEETINGS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER NAMIBIAN GROUPS NEED NOT BE FORMAL OR WITH THE FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS AS A GROUP. (C) GROUP AGREED THAT ASSISTANCE OF FRONTLINE STATES AND NIGERIA WOULD BE HELPFUL DURING PROXIMITY TALKS AS A MEANS OF EXERTING PRESSURE ON SWAP. BRITISH WERE UNEASY WITH SUGGESTION THAT FRONTLINE AND NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS BE INVITED TO BE IN NEW YORK AT THAT TIME. THEY WERE FEARFUL THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES MIGHT EXPECT TO BE FORMALLY INVOLVED IN THE TALKS. AS OTHER GROUP MEMBERS AGREED, GROUP DECIDED THAT, IF TALKS ARE ARRANGED, FRONTLINE AND NIGERIANS SHOULD BE INFORMED

AND, UPON RECEIVING COPIES OF OUR PROPOSALS PRIOR TO THE TALKS, ASKED FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE WITH SWQPO. IT WAS AGREED THAT IN THIS WAY DOOR WOULD BE LEFT WIDE OPEN FOR INFORMAL PARTICIPATION OF OFFICIALS OF FRONTLINE AND NIGERIA, LEAVING TO THEM THE DECISION WHETHER TO SEND THEIR FOREIGN MINISTERS OR OTHER OFFICIALS OR TO DESIGNATE THEIR UN REPRESENTATIVES TO FOLLOW THE TALKS.

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(D) WITH REGARD TO TIMING OF PROPOSED TALKS, GROUP AGREED THAT DATES OF TALKS SHOULD BE DEVELOPED AROUND THE SCHEDULES OF THE WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND THEN PROPOSED TO SOUTH AFRICAN AND SWAPO. GROUP FELT THAT THREE DAYS WOULD BE MAXIMUM LENGTH THAT TALKS COULD BE EXPECTED

TO LAST AND FURTHER AGREED TO FOCUS ON THE RANGE OF DATES
FROM FEBRUARY SIXTH TO FIFTEENTH. IN THIS REGARD, DURING MEETING,
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AMBASSADOR MCHENRY CALLED SWAPO UN REPRESENTATIVE THEO-BEN
GURIRAB TO CONFIRM SWAPO'S AVAILABILITY FOR TALKS IN FEBRUARY,
ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT INDICATE LEVEL OF PARTICIPANTS.
GURIRAB SAID THAT FEBRUARY FIRST THROUGH FIFTEENTH
WOULD BE FINE AND AGREED TO CHECK ALSO ON SWAPO AVAILABILITY
DURING THE LAST TWO WEEKS OF FEBRUARY. OTHER FACTORS AFFECTING
TIMING ARE THE AVAILABILITY OF UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM
WHOSE OFFICE INDICATES THAT HE WILL BE AVAILABLE UNTIL
FEBRUARY 20; THE OAU MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING IN TRIPOLI
SCHEDULED TO RUN FROM FEBRUARY 23 TO 28; AND THE OUA LIBERATION
COMMITTEE SCHEDULED TO MEET FROM FEBRUARY 13 TO 20.
GURIRAB INDICATED THAT OUA MEETINGS WOULD NOT BE CONTROLLING
FACTOR IN SWAPO PARTICIPATION. ALL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP
AGREED TO CONSULT CAPITALS AND REPORT TOMORROW ON THE DATES
WHICH WOULD BE CONVENIENT FOR THEIR FOREIGN MINISTERS.
(E) GROUP THEN CONSIDERED DETAILS OF DEMARCHE TO BE MADE
TO BOTH. GROUP AGREED, THAT, FOR DEMARCHE TO BE EFFECTIVE,
IT MUST BE MADE SEVERAL DAYS PRIOR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN
CABINET MEETING OF JANUARY 24. THEREFORE, DEMARCHE SHOULD BE
MADE BY SATURDAY, JANUARY 21. PARA 7 CONTAINS TEXT (APPROVED
BY GROUP AND REFERENDUM) OF COMMUNIQUE TO BE GIVEN TO BOTH
IN WRITING.
(F) WITH REGARD TO INFORMING SWAPO, GROUP AGREED THAT,
ONCE WE HAVE RECEIVED WORD THAT DEMARCHE HAS BEEN MADE
TO BOTH, SWAPO SHOULD BE CONTACTED IN NEW YORK AND TOLD:
THAT WE ARE EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITY OF TALKS IN NEW
YORK ON SPECIFIED DATES IN FEBRUARY; THAT THERE IS A
POSSIBILITY OF TALKS BEING HELD AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL;
AND, THAT WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT SWAPO WILL BE ABLE TO
ACCEPT IMMEDIATELY THE PROPOSED DATES FOR TALKS.
GROUP AGREED THAT AT SAME TIME PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND
KAUNDA SHOULD BE INFORMED OF THE PROPOSED DATES FOR TALKS
AND ASKED TO HELP ENSURE SWAPO'S ATTENDANCE.
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(G) IN ADDITION, CONTACT GROUP DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF
HOW OUR PROPOSALS FOR A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT WOULD WORK
INTO THIS SCENARIO. GROUP CONCLUDED THAT: (1) IF BOTH
REJECTS TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS OR REFUSES TO GUARANTEE
AGAINST UNILATERAL ACTION, THEN PROPOSALS WOULD EITHER
BE DISTRIBUTED (TO SWAPO, SOUTH AFRICA, WALDHEIM, FRONTLINE,
NORDICS, AND AFRICAN SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBER) OR PUBLISHED PRIOR

TO THE START OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARILAMENT, IF BOTHA
AGREES TO TALKS AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL AND GUARANTEES
AGAINST UNILATERAL ACTION, THEN PROPOSALS WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED
OR PUBLISHED ONLY A WEEK OR SO PRIOR TO THE START OF TALKS,
IN EITHER CASE, GROUP WILL HAVE TO DECIDE ON WHETHER
THE DISTRIBUTION OR THE PUBLICATION COURSE WILL BE TAKEN. ALL
RECOGNIZED THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF SELF-SERVING LEAKS
ONCE THE PROPOSALS ARE DISTRIBUTED TO THE PARTIES. AT
US SUGGESTION, THE GROUP AGREED TO CONSULT WITH CAPITALS ON
THE ADVISABILITY OF PUBLICATION, AT THE SAME TIME AS
DISTRIBUTION, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THIS WOULD OFFSET
THE DAMAGE OF INTENTIONAL LEAKS. THE OBVIOUS DISADVANTAGE OF
PUBLICATION AT TIME OF DISTRIBUTION IS THAT THE PARTIES
MIGHT THEN TAKE HARD POSITIONS PRIOR TO TALKS.
(H) GROUP ALSO AGREED TO QUESTION CAPITALS ON WHETHER A
QUORUM OF THREE FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD BE ADEQUATE
IF IT BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE TO FIND DATES ACCEPTABLE TO ALL
FIVE OR IF SOME FOREIGN MINISTER ARE UNABLE TO REMAIN FOR
FULL TWO TO THREE DAYS.

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3. FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF SCENARIO, GROUP CONSIDERED THE APPROACH THAT WOULD BE TAKEN WITH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA REGARDING THE SIZE OF THE UN MILITARY PRESENCE. AS OUR LATEST DRAFT PROPOSALS NOW MAKE NO NUMERICAL SUGGESTION OF ACTUAL SIZE, THERE ARE CERTAIN TO BE QUESTIONS ON THIS MATTER. GROUP AGREED THAT THE FORMULATION, WHICH WE HAVE NOW ADOPTED FOR USE IN THE PROPOSALS SHOULD ALSO BE USED IN COURSE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PROXIMITY TALKS. THAT FORMULATION READS: "IN ESTABLISHING THE MILITARY SECTION OF UNTAG, THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL KEEP IN MIND OPERATIONAL AND LOGISTICAL REQUIREMENTS." THIS FORMULATION LEAVES THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO FIELD AS LARGE OR AS SMALL A MILITARY FORCE AS IS REQUIRED OR LIMITED BY POLITICAL, OPERATIONAL, LOGISTICAL, ECONOMIC AND OTHER REQUIREMENTS. GROUP BELIEVED THAT SOUTH AFRICANS SHOULD BE TOLD DURING TALKS THAT WE VOIDED ANY MENTION OF FIGURES SO AS TO PROVIDE THEM WITH A FACE-SAVING CONVENIENCE; AFRICANS SHOULD BE TOLD THAT WE ARRIVED AT THIS FORMULATION IN ORDER TO SATISFY SOUTH AFRICAN CONCERNS THAT THEY COULD NOT SELL AT HOME AN EXPLICITLY STATED PACKAGE CALLING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS TO BE OUTNUMBERED BY UN FORCES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE FORMULATION LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY AND PROBABILITY THAT THE UN FORCE WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY LARGER THAN THE RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCE. IN ALL CASES, HOWEVER, GROUP AGREED THAT BEST COURSE WOULD BE TO REFRAIN FROM DEVIATING FROM THIS STATEMENT AND FROM MAKING ANY ESTIMATES OF SIZE.

4. CONTACT GROUP WILL MEET AT 1500 HOURS JNAUARY 19 TO CONSIDER REACTIONS OF CAPITALS TO THE ABOVE SCENARIO.
5. FOR LUSAKA: IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF YOU COULD ALSO CHECK ON SWAPO AVAILABILITY FOR PERIODS DISCUSSED ABOVE WITHOUT, OF COURSE, INDICATING PLANS TO RAISE TALKS TO MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

6. ALSO, FOR LUSAKA'S INFORMATION, THE NECESSITY OF MAKING SPECIAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR BOTHA MAKES SIMILAR OR SUITABLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR NUJOMA A POLITICAL NECESSITY. WE HAD BEEN AND ARE PREPARED TO AFFORD SUCH SECURITY AND ARE INFORMING YOU SHOULD SWAPO AGAIN RAISE THE QUESTION OF SECURITY. WE SHOULD ADD, HOWEVER, THAT SWAPO REPRESENTATIVE HERE HAS NEVER SEEMED EXERCISED ABOUT SECURITY.

7. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT (ADOPTED BY THE CONTACT GROUP
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JANUARY 18 AS REFERENDUM) OF THE COMMUNIQUE FOR USE IN THE DEMARCHE TO BOTHA: (IT IS CONTACT GROUP'S BELIEF THAT THIS COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE PRESENTED TO BOTHA IN WRITING. FYI. CONTACT GROUP BELIEVES THAT, IF BOTHA ACCEPTS TALKS AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL, IT MAY WELL BE WORTHWILE TO SUGGEST TO SOUTH AFRICA THAT PRELIMINARY TALKS, A DAY IN ADVANCE, BETWEEN CONTACT GROUP AND FOURIE WOULD BE USEFUL. SUCH PRELIMINARY TALKS WOULD BE PRIMARILY FOR THE PURPOSE OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON AGENDA OR PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS. END FYI.)

QTE: THE GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA, FRANCE, FRG, UK AND USA WISH TO RECALL THEIR PROPOSAL THAT TALKS BE HELD IN NEW YORK IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT AN AGREEMENT ON AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIA QUESTION. THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE CONSIDERED THE MATTER FURTHER. THEY WISH AGAIN TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TALKS WHICH THEY ARE SEEKING TO ARRANGE WITH INTERESTED PARTIES AND THE OPPORTUNITY WHICH THESE TALKS PROVIDE FOR ACHIEVING A SETTLEMENT.

FOR THESE REASONS, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS WOULD THEMSELVES BE PREPARED TO MEET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA IN NEW YORK, AND TO MEET WITH OTHERS CONCERNED, ON CONVENIENT DATES DURING THE PERIOD FEBRUARY---- TO ----, IN ORDER TO JOINT IN A CONCERTED EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A SETTLEMENT. THEY ARE PERSUADED THAT ALL CONCERNED MUST CONTRIBUTE THEIR BEST EFFORTS TO THE SUCCESS OF THE ENTERPRISE. ACCORDINGLY, THEIR READINESS TO JOIN IN THE MEETINGS WOULD BE ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL ABSTAIN FROM ANY UNILTERAL MEASURES WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED AS INCONSISTENT WITH THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN INTERNATIOALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. IN PARTICULAR, THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS REQUEST THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT REFRAIN FROM ANNOUNCING A DATE OF ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA.

THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS LOOK FORWARD TO AN EARLY AND FAVOURABLE RESPONSE FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND REAFFIRM
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THEIR WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE SETTLEMENT TO WHICH ALL PARTIES INVOLVED HAVE THUS FAR CONTRIBUTED SO MUCH. UNQTE.
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